

WHANGAROA PAPA HAPU

FINAL REPORT

20th November 2006

INTRODUCTION

Whangaroa is a singular and beautifully romantic place. Near the northern head is a large perforated rock, presenting the appearance of a deep Gothic archway; the sea rolls through it, and the canoes find it a safe passage in moderate weather. The entrance of Whangaroa is not more than half-a-mile wide, and it is impossible to discover it from any distance at seas; but it is deep quite close to the land on either side, which is bold and when entered, it is one of the finest harbours in the world. . . The interior is lined with lofty hills, richly wooded; and close to the western shore is a series of huge rocks, rising in the most fantastic shapes to an immense height, from the tops of which tumble many cascades that lose themselves among the innumerable trees and shrubs, with which the bases of those stupendous piles are profusely covered. . .¹

This report has been informed by a combination of technical/bibliographic research and oral history contributions gathered from community members who have whakapapa affiliations to the *Whangaroa Papa Hapu*.

The accompanying narrative, which will eventually be rearranged and integrated into a final report, due on the 20th November 2006, is a response to project requirements.

¹ Cruise cited in Healy document – researcher to get reference from Cruise's log books etc.

Progress Report 2 will include an update of research activities associated with tasks 4 through 8 as outlined in the scoping report. . .²

It will show what and how bibliographic and human information resources, have been located, combined and utilised as an enhancement to any related discourse.

The focus of the project is to explore and record the engagement of particular Maori communities, with the environments they and their ancestors occupied for generations on the Whangaroa Harbour and its surrounding districts.

At this time an oral history gathering and recording programme, which was initially planned to follow the technical research and was then inexplicably reversed, has not been fully realised. This turn of events have been inscrutable to both claimants and researchers. To compensate five television-screening-quality video recordings, that were created with limited direction or guidance from agreed bibliographic/technical research, may have to be rearranged and edited so that they can contribute to a rigorously researched and candid final report.

To further advance the merging of the two research activities, it is intended that the technical researcher capture and record *korero* at various hui, that directly and sometimes tangentially relates to themes noted in *Task Eleven* of the *Scoping Report*³. The first foray into *blog* recording/interviewing was relatively successful⁴.

At a research hui held at Te Huia Marae, Kaeo on the 7th July the oral history researcher had informed those present that he had successfully negotiated a variation on his contract, so that the end date for the oral history gathering has been extended to late January 2007. This turn of events fits with the original plan as carefully spelled out in the *Whangaroa Papahapu Scoping Report*. This allows for a more orderly approach to Tasks 1 – 11.

² *Whangaroa Papa Hapu Full Traditional and Oral History Research Project* - contract milestones – March 2006

³ see pp. 59-60 - *Whangaroa Papa Hapu Traditional & Oral History: Scoping Report*

⁴ Te Huia Marae, Kaeo, 25th-26th May 2006 – results will later be recorded in this report

Although it is stipulated that *Tasks Four to Eight* should be undertaken and recorded in this report, the nature of emergent information from a range of bibliographic resources argues for a variety of approaches. The merging of tasks sometimes compensates for shortfalls in particular media. At the same time it may illuminate and amplify particularly strong evidence by drawing together and reframing, agreed and sometimes conflicting information. To achieve this *Tasks Two to Ten* focusing on *Tasks Four to Eight* will be undertaken and described. A revisiting of all these tasks with a particular emphasis on *Tasks Nine & Ten* will be undertaken in preparation for the *Milestone/Progress Report Four* due November 2006.

Although a contract for creating the final report has neither been drawn up or agreed to, this and following reports will be fashioned as draft reports that can be added to and rearranged so that a robust final report is ready to be submitted by January 2008.

It had been noted in the *Whangaroa Papa Hapu Traditional & Oral History: Scoping Report* that there is a dearth of secondary/published resources. However, transcripts of diaries and log books have been a rich source of historical information relating to early contact between Maori residents and Pakeha ethnographers and settlers. These have been created by Pakeha and encapsulate particular points of view that were not necessarily congruent with those of local Maori individuals or communities. It is hoped that during the course of this research, letters, diaries and whakapapa charts with accompanying commentaries, which were created and generated by local Maori communities will be found, thus adding unique, rich and textured validity to the final report.

Because Maori privately owned manuscripts, archives and texts have not yet and may not emerge, there could be a heavy reliance on individual and community oral history recordings. The pincer strategy of the oral history gatherer and technical researcher recording interviews and hui should address some shortfalls.

During the second phase of the research government records such as samples of the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* have been accessed and assessed. At this stage most concern land and resource transactions, which would probably be better represented alongside information gathered from *NLC (Maori Land Court) Minute Books*.

A manuscript created by C.S. Williams, *Whangaroa: a collection of legends and tales of Whangaroa, with a description of the scenic and other attractions of a small corner of Northland, New Zealand*, which appears to be a draft for a later publication has proved to be a rich resource. Williams draws information from general histories such as Best's *Tuhoe* and Kelly's/Jones's *Tainui* etc. to confirm or expand on narratives that have been contributed to by local Maori informants. The narrative does not present as an uninformed creation but follows a style that could have been influenced by his informants' extemporizing. This is especially evident in the seeming confusion of timeframes, whakapapa and historical sequences, as well as the attributions of feats and deeds to various historical characters. This is not unusual for an unpublished manuscript, which has not been organised and polished to publication readiness.

One of the most informative and wide ranging unpublished manuscripts concerning the post-contact period is, Tim Healy's, *Whangaroa County History 1762-1822: the story of Fred and Eva Maddox*. This brief record covers a range of subjects including: the identification and naming of local hapu; the leading regional characters; early Pakeha incursions into the harbour and; the arrival of Christianity.

An important contemporary document, which is crucial to any substantive research in Tai Tokerau is the *Muriwhenua Report Wai 22*. This report is wide ranging and covers: ancient history; marine species; socio-economic conditions through time; environmental impacts and; a range of other issues that will emerge as the project progresses. The bibliography to this report should prove to be a rich resource. What is important to note here is that the histories encapsulated in the report may highlight common historical facts, events and issues from a variety of points of view. This is especially so when there is a

junction between the west i.e. the Hokianga etc. and the east i.e. Whangaroa, Monganui and the Bay of Islands. This issue comes into sharp focus when conflicting narratives are recorded between Ngapuhi and Ngati Kahu.

The following summary and narrative are combinations of what has been gleaned from the *Whangaroa Papa Hapu Traditional & Oral History: Scoping Report*¹ (May 2005) and the record of research activities carried out between the 17th March 2006 and the 20th November 2006. The narrative has been created as a way of organising data in a style that is easy for claimants and CFRT officials to track the progress of the research and show what a final report could look like.

Text boxes have been integrated into the narrative to inform research questions for oral history gathering. It is expected that the oral histories will be included as an crucial accompaniment to documented evidence.

All research activities are to be informed by the proceedings of research hui. It is intended that hui are fact finding missions for the technical researcher and the oral history gatherer, who will undertake the information gathering pincer movement, that was described earlier.

What has been of concern is that a small number of claimants and researchers have not understood that the following is the result of interim bibliographic/technical research and is a work-in-progress. The narrative style of reportage was meant to create some understanding of what had been discovered so far, but unfortunately these types of progress reports have sometimes been mistaken as draft reports. This is despite Erimana Taniora's best efforts to dismantle that notion.

TUPATO

please note that the following 10 pages have been harvested from the Whangaroa Papa Hapu Scoping Report – there has been some rearrangement & manipulation so that it could fit more comfortably into this report.

OVERVIEW

Me te tai e pari mai ana, ki roto Like the tide flowing inside the
o te kokorutanga o Whangaroa. . . bay at Whangaroa. . .⁵

As the pepeha implies Whangaroa (Long Harbour)⁶ hosts a strong current/tide called
Te-au-kanapanapa (Flashing Current), which owes its reputation to a

. . .drowned river system that had cut its way through volcanic breccia
to reach the sea. . .⁷

According to some records this trait explains how events can take on lives of their own as
they hurtle towards unpredictable ends⁸.

Inland from the harbour, bordering mangroves and neighbouring flat wetlands⁹ are rolling
hills and steep ridges that can rise to an excess of 200 metres and dominate the landscape.
These are dissected,

. . .by the Oruru, Kohumaru and Oruaiti-Wainui river valleys. . .¹⁰.

⁵ McGregor, J. (1903) *Popular Maori Songs*, Champtaloup & Cooper, Auckland, 1903 : 3

⁶ United States. Hydrographic Office. - Washington : Hydrographic Office (1934) *Whangaroa Bay and harbor [map] : New Zealand, North Island, North Coast : from a British survey in 1849* - cartographic collection – Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

⁷ Northland Tourist Publications *Whangaroa Harbour : a brief historical background*. 1969 : 1

⁸ Mead, H.M.& Grove, N. (2001) *Nga Pepeha a nga Tupuna* Victoria University Press, Wellington

⁹ Chapman, V.J. (1978) *Mangroves and salt marshes of the Whangaroa and Whangaruru Harbours, and the Bay of Islands : a study with proposals for preservation of areas supporting the harbour ecosystem* - Dept. of Lands and Survey, NZ

¹⁰ Robinson, J. *Whangaroa Archaeological Survey : a report on field work in the Maungahoutoa, Pupuke and Muritoki land blocks 1992* : 1

The local soil is a type that generally forms under ancient low-lying Kauri forests and is characterised by low fertility and an overly-efficient drainage system that tends to dry out in the summer. While an unforgiving soil predominates¹¹, there are scattered deposits of alluvium composed of mud, sand, peat and gravel that are sometimes to the depth of 20 metres and rising to 10 metres above river/stream levels. This is a recipe for the abundant production of common and exotic species of kumara and other vegetable crops.

Whangaroa Harbour is located on the east coast of Northland between Doubtless Bay and the Bay of Islands. It was formed during the present inter-glacial period when rising sea levels drowned the earlier river valley to create a long deep harbour with several large internal bays.

The harbour would have provided a suitable environment for early colonists from Eastern Polynesia. The sheltered coastal waters have abundant fish and shellfish resources. The climate is mild with adequate rainfall, and there are limited but fertile areas of alluvial soils suited to the cultivation of introduced tropical crops.

In the period before European arrival the Maori inhabitants around Pekapeka Bay would have found a wide range of bird and plant resources available in the bush. In addition, small flats around the coast, up the Wairakau Valley, and in some of its tributaries would have been well suited in terms of soil fertility, drainage and climate to the cultivation of introduced tropical plants like taro and kumara. However, the major economic resource must have been the rich and diverse seafoods of the harbour and the adjacent open coast.¹²

The Maori testimony as to a flowering variety of the kumara is no doubt quite correct. When on a visit, about ten years ago, to Kaeo,

11 Brook, F.J, Hayward, B.W. (1989) *Geology of autochthonous and allochthonous sequences between Kaitiaki and Whangaroa, northern New Zealand*. New Zealand Geological Survey, Lower Hutt

12 Robinson, J. (1991) *Whangaroa Archaeological Survey - An Interim Report on Fieldwork in the Ranfurly Bay Scenic Reserve*. Department of Conservation, Northland Conservancy, December – unpublished Pq993.1 ROB 1991 245565

Whangaroa, The Rev. Wi Warena Pewa called my attention to a solitary flowering kumara growing in his garden at Mangaiti. The leaves and stem were a rich dark green, and the flower like the ordinary wild convolvulus. During a residence of nine years in Hokianga, I had opportunities of seeing most of the kumara cultivations in that wide district, but I never saw or heard of another flowering specimen. . .¹³

The nature of the soil, ecological depletion through clear felling and industrialised forestry¹⁴, resource alienation through Native Land Court activities and the activities of supporting Crown agencies, created particular socio-economic conditions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that lead to the collapse of vibrant and populous communities, thus triggering a regional diaspora¹⁵.

Some of the earliest historical references to Whangaroa relate to the famous Polynesian explorer, Kupe. It is recorded that he ,

. . .once gave a great feast at a place between Kerikeri, Bay of Islands and Whangaroa. . .¹⁶

which is known as Whakarara-a-Kupe. Here he used stones rather than poles to show off and support his extravagant hakari. Those stones are still located at Tarata-roto-rua.

Here oral traditions, 19th century records and contemporary scientific investigations and analysis have converged to confirm that the local environment was once hospitable and abundant¹⁷. This is further evidenced by the fact that early settlements, which were built by migrants who arrived on the waka, Te Riukakara in the 14th century expanded and

13 Hammond, Rev. T.G. *The Kumara, Perei and Taewa*. JPS vol. III, 1894 : 287

14 NZ Forest Service, Auckland Conservancy (1922 – 1964) *Whangaroa Survey District*– Archives NZ, Auckland (unpublished)

15 Statistics New Zealand, Christchurch (1971) *Census Sub-enumerator Map - Whangaroa County*

16 Histories and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast – Kupe the Navigator JPS vol. XVI, 1907 : 157

17 Robinson, J. (1992) *Whangaroa archaeological survey : a report on field work in the Maungahoutoa, Pupuke and Muritoki land blocks Northland Conservancy*, Dept. of Conservation, Whangarei, NZ

prospered, so that by the time Pakeha arrived in 1790 the region could boast several hundred pa¹⁸.

The Whangaroa coastline is known to contain a large number of archaeological sites. Yet at present the sequence of prehistoric human adaptation in this area is poorly understood. To date there has been no archaeological excavation undertaken in the Whangaroa County. Importantly, the Tauranga valley is the only mature valley system in the Whangaroa area that opens directly onto the coast. . . While little is actually known of the valley's prehistory, the present visible archaeological landscape indicates that, at the close of prehistory, the valley had an important position in the political and economic life of the Whangaroa Maori community. . .¹⁹

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

N8/13 Small Pa

Recorded immediately outside the boundary of proposed Lot 4.

N8/198 Stone Mound

Located in lower north-west corner of proposed Lot 1.

Single stone mound, eroded.

3m in diameter, 60 cm in height

N8/199 Terraces

Located on the boundary between proposed Lots 2 and 3.

Site consists of two terraces cut into hillside

Under regenerating Manuka

N8/200 Terraces

Located in proposed Lot 2.

Consists of a flight of three terraces

The upper terrace is stone faced

N8/201 Stone Wall and Mounds

18 Northland Tourist Publications *Whangaroa Harbour : a brief historical background. 1969 : 1*

19 Department of Conservation (1990) Archaeological Survey of the Shepherd Residential Subdivision, Whangaroa. *Science and Research Internal Report. No. 70* – unpublished report

Located in southern corner of proposed Lot 5 and south-eastern corner of proposed Lot 4.

Site consists of a remnant stone wall 25m in length, 2m in width and 60m in height.

Also six stone mounds occur to the south of the stone wall in Lot 5.

N8/202 Terrace

Located on the southern boundary of Lot 4.

Site consists of a single terrace 6 x 4m.

This terrace site appears to ancillary to the pa [N8/13] located on the ridge above. . .

The five sites recorded during the survey are all located on the steep side of the valley in the area of the proposed five single acre blocks. The terraced sites; N8/199, 200 and 202, are relatively well preserved with site N8/200 in particular displaying a good example of stone facing. However, the two sites N8/198 and N8/201, displaying stone features [wall and mounds] are badly eroded and are in poor condition.

It is likely that the surviving archaeological evidence is not fully representative of the range of prehistoric activities undertaken within the subdivision area. Previously recorded site N8/126 consisting of an area of prehistoric wetland drains on the floor of the valley in an adjacent section, would suggest that most of the fertile alluvial floor was cultivated in addition to the volcanic soils of the side of the valley. Similar patterns of prehistoric wetland and dryland agriculture are known in New Zealand [Johnson 1986] and commonly occur throughout the Pacific [Bulmer 1989]. . .²⁰

An integral part of most oral literature and mythology is the application of metaphor and allusion. This is amply displayed in the history surrounding the extremely tapu area of Upokorau. According to kaumatua and kuia²¹ and confirmed by tradition and keen

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ Putanga Marae - Kaeo. 10th March 2005

observation, it has been ascribed the status of maternity as its life-giving waters are compared to the milk mothers dispense to their offspring.

Here the symmetry of oral histories, archaeological findings, environmental impact reports and records of Crown takings may expose pre-contact resource use and post-contact co-operation and conflicts.

According to some informants one of Tangitu's client streams once flowed to a depth of 10 metres, but because of pollution and surrounding erosion caused by industrialised forestry and local farming, it has been reduced to less than one metre. Other informants complained that what was once a source of nourishment and well-being had been turned into a reservoir of mystery illnesses that some informants believe were and are caused by copper leeching into aquifers²². A similar story was told at a hui held earlier in the day²³ concerning the Whangaroa Harbour, which is apparently silted up with the debris of nearly 150 years of intense forestry²⁴ thus causing the depletion of fish and mollusc stocks. Another informant stated that the Pupuke River, one of the region's main waterways and a source of riparian affluence was commandeered for a sluice, which transported logs, from their source to the sea. The pollution of the river's hinterlands, the harbour and the river itself are and have been issues that cause grave concerns to local communities²⁵.

Informants pointed out that forestry was not the only cause of ecological degradation but identified sustained harmful farming practices including initial land clearing as potent

22 Department of Justice, Companies Office (1907 – 1910) *Auckland The Whangaroa Amalgamated Copper Company Ltd, Auckland* - Archives NZ, Auckland & Department of Health, Whangarei District Office (1939 – 1953) Sanitation - Water Supplies - Whangaroa County – Archives NZ, Auckland

23 at Te Runanga o Whaingaroa - 10th March 2005 – Kaeo

24 Kauri Timber Company (1888– 1955) MS Papers 0862 – Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

25 Pupuke River, Whangaroa County (1962 – 1968) Ministry of Works and Development, Auckland District Office - Archives NZ, Auckland

destructive forces²⁶. The following account shows that current practices are still impacting on the environment as they continue to concern local Maori communities.

The archaeological landscape of the Takou River appears dominated by the large and impressive Orongo Pa [N11/48], located on the northern side of the mouth of the River.

The apparent location of this site on Document M.P.G. 532/5 P.R.O. London 1793, would suggest an occupation of the Takou Bay region straddling the prehistoric, protohistoric and possibly historic periods. The Takou River is navigable for some distance inland providing access to the interior for those communities on the coast. The location of the property on the southern side of the Takou River, and in relation to the wider archaeological landscape, provided reasonable cause to anticipate the existence of archaeological sites within the area of proposed development.

Apart from archaeological evidence, the Takou River is important to the local Maori community as the traditional landing and resting place of the Mataatua canoe. The apparent resting place of the canoe occurs on a bend of the river adjacent to the Vink property and is marked by a commemorative monument. The traditional significance of this site and the environmental impact of the development of the river forms the basis of concerns of the local Maori community who have retained ownership of lands to the north and south of the subdivision area.²⁷

How human predation supported by Crown expediency presented environmental challenges²⁸ for local communities may be encapsulated in communal memoir, which

26 Shepherd, James, (1822-1825) *Journal* - includes descriptions of journey to Whangarei and then to Whangaroa and describes mission and farming activities - qMS-1798 - Manuscripts & Archives - Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

27 Johnson, L. (1988) *Archaeological Survey of the Vink Subdivisions, Takou Bay, Whangaroa*. Department of Conservation, Science and Research Internal Report 28, September - unpublished

28 Conning, L. (1999) *Natural areas of Whangaroa Ecological District : reconnaissance survey report for the Protected Natural Areas Programme* - Dept. of Conservation, Northland Conservancy, Whangarei

could be excavated and in turn triangulated with official health and environmental reports.²⁹

It was noted by one informant that the majority of Pakeha settlers moved on when the forests were exhausted and the environment battered³⁰. The 19th century landscape artist Alfred Sharpe has captured similar processes and ruin³¹.

From the earliest Maori settlement of Aotearoa and specifically the Whangaroa region, to the moment of first contact with Pakeha, history was recorded through the performance of karanga, moteatea, whakatauaki, whaikorero and the precise recording and regular recitation of whakapapa³². The gathering of ancient data and transmitting it with contemporary technology could be achieved by further judicious gathering of ancient media.

According to early 19th century ethnographic reports, the people of the east coast from the Bay of Islands to Mangonui owed allegiance to the ariki, Te Pahi. Some of those people belonged to a loose confederation of resident and related iwi and hapu, identified under the collective title of Ngati Kahu. Included among them were the Whangaroa community of Ngati Pou.

The Whangaroa people were of two main groups – the Ngatipou under their leading chief Te Pari[sic] around the Harbour entrance, and the Ngatihuruhuru further up the harbour and along the Kaeo River under three chiefs, Te Puhi, Te Ara (George) and Ngahuruhuru, all brothers . . . (1972 : 6)³³

29 Northland Area Health Board Services (1970-1975) - *Hokianga and Whangaroa Special Areas* – Archives NZ, Auckland

30 at Te Runanga o Whaingaroa - 10th March 2005 – Kaeo

31 Auckland City Art Gallery (1973) *The watercolours of Alfred Sharpe*. publisher – Auckland City Art Gallery

32 Tauroa, H. & Tauroa, P (1986) *Te Marae : a guide to customs & protocol* Reed Methuen, Auckland

33 Laurenson, G. (1972) *Te Hahi Weterina : Three Half Centuries of the Methodist Maori Missions 1822-1972 – 150th Anniversary of New Zealand Methodism* – Printed by Institute Press, Auckland

Following Te Pahi's death in 1810/1811, his and his followers' influence waned at the same time as Ngapuhi began to expand, settle and dominate the region.

He hokinga mate, he hokinga
kainga, he hokinga oneone

A return wounded and sick,
a return to home, a return to soil³⁴

Even though the political, military and social environment underwent seismic shifts, the communities of Whangaroa remained a force to be reckoned with and remain so today.

. . .Hongi Hika fought in this district but not against the mana of the district. . .³⁵

The maintenance of continuing mana tangata-mana whenua³⁶ is sometimes attributed to Te Ururoa, an ariki of the area and brother-in-law of the renowned Ngapuhi chief Hongi Hika³⁷. However an informant at Te Huia Marae 7th July 2006 states that Te Ururoa was Hongi's cousin. Here inter-whanau relationships seem to have had long lasting ramifications that may only find full verbal expression within the confines of whanau, hapu and iwi gatherings³⁸.

Initial contacts with Pakeha were ambivalent. The early Pakeha explorers' and later marine merchants' and industrialists' attraction to the harbour's neighbouring forests³⁹, created mutually beneficial relationships between Maori and Pakeha. The arrival of the

34 Grey, G. (1857) *Proverbial and Popular Sayings* – Trubner, London – recording the wounding of Hongi Hika during a battle with Ngati Pou, Whangaroa (Mead & Grove 2001 : 70)

35 Native Land Court (1876) *Northern Minute Book No. Two*

36 it is argued that these terms have 20th century origins

37 Robinson 1992; Cloher, D. Ulrich, 2003 *Hongi Hika, warrior chief*, Viking, Auckland, N.Z ; Wilson, O, 1907 *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke : a quarter century of upheaval* McIndoe, 1985, Dunedin, N.Z.

38 Mahuta, R. (1974). *Whaikorero: A study of formal Māori speech*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Anthropology. University of Auckland.

39 MS-Papers-0230-009 (1944-1945) *Whaling, sealing and early settlement - Part 4* - manuscripts & archives – Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

first sailing ship the *Star* opened up a vast and new world to the local population and was a source of novelty, profitable commerce and some risks⁴⁰.

Commander HMS "Buffalo" (ship), at Whangaroa - Requests Busby to call a meeting of the local chiefs to discuss terms of contract to supply 70 spars. States of payment he is prepared to make. . . (1833 : 115 abstract)⁴¹

Informs Sadler that such an offer would give the Maori such extravagant ideas as to make it difficult to get such help as by other means they may render. Maori will not work unless they can be sure of their reward within a very few days. . . (1833 : 116 abstract)⁴²

However it was the fate of the Boyd in 1809 and the aftermath, which has defined the early contact era. While there are many stories surrounding the incident and the price that was exacted from the local population, different spins by the Crown and local Maori have created some confusion in this regard.⁴³

. . . though the Maoris felt justified in their action according to Maori standards, they suspected that at any time a punitive expedition might arrive. Every movement of Europeans was watched with alarm and suspicion. . . (1972 : 5)⁴⁴

It could and has been charged that the Maori version of events was given neither appropriate coverage nor acknowledgement and that there are unofficial and incongruent

40 NZ Custom Service (1889 – 1987) *Monthly summaries of vessels arriving and departing from various ports [including Hokianga, Thames, Whangarei, Whangaroa, Mangonui, Russell, Coromandel]* - Archives NZ, Auckland

41 Sadler, J.M (1833) Request to J. Busby 11th Dec. 1833 - AABS 8156 BR[Micro 6908] Archives House, Wellington

42 Busby, J. (1833) Advice to J.M.Sadler 14 December 1833 - J Busby, Paihia – [Micro 6908] 1833 Archives House, Wellington

43 Berry, Alexander *Destruction of the ship Boyd and the Captain and crew by the natives of Whangaroa, New Zealand, 1810* – manuscript NRAM Newspaper extracts on Berry's adventures and on the Boyd massacre – manuscript NRAM

44 op. cit. Laurenson, G.

traditions and histories that are tenaciously clung onto by the protagonists' descendents. It is worth noting here that while the officially recorded final fate of the Boyd is not disputed by locals they claim,

. . .that at the time of the incident, it was anchored much further upstream in the Kaeo river, which is presently dried and drained reclaimed pasture land, and drifted to its current recorded resting place and perceived place of attack. However, the actual events of the incident itself is a contentious issue with local whanau. . .⁴⁵

The aftermath and accompanying distress suffered by Whangaroa communities are remembered in remarkable detail⁴⁶.

While missionary records are often self-congratulatory proclamations, there are enough to show how transactions took place between them and local populations.

I purchased today. . .four acres of excellent land from the Chief George, in addition to what Mr Leigh formerly bought, for the use of the mission. My reasons for buying this ground are because it is quite close to our new residence, and is also indispensably necessary to promote the advantage of our situation. . .(letter date d 29th Jan 1824)⁴⁷

The Methodist Archive in Auckland and the Anglican, Kinder Library are repositories of voluminous records of missionary and accompanying commercial activities. Roman Catholics are also recorded as being active in the region. The Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic archives, Auckland and the Alexander Turnbull Library hold a number of unpublished manuscripts and letters from that era and area.

45 verbatim feedback from Whangaroa Papa Hapu received 14th April 2005

46 introductory hui – Kaeo – 16th February, 2005

47 Turner, Rev.N. (1823) *Letters & Journals of Rev. Nathaniel Turner - Dec 4th Dec* – Methodist Archive, Auckland

An obvious visual expression of the falling off of Christian fellowship and observation over the past century is the state of a collapsing Methodist chapel within the precincts of the urupaa at Patunga Marae. For some reason the church either left the community or vice-versa⁴⁸. It can be gathered from casual conversations that there is a great deal of cynicism and some enmity aimed towards almost all Christian denominations, missionaries and their reputedly rapacious descendents. An informant from the Auckland Methodist Archive, hinted that the missionaries of the area who once arrived with religious fervour shifted attention and loyalties, as Pakeha settlers began pouring in. Locals hold to strong opinions concerning these matters and are inclined to express them.

Following hard on the heels of the missionaries were settlers lumbered with expansionist ambitions and attitudes. According to some informants a land grab begun and by either accident or design the newcomers planted dissension among their hosts. Up to a point they were successful as made explicit in some official records.

Petitioners state that a block of land called Te Huia situated at Whangaroa was sold by Te Pahii to a European. . .they say the land belongs to them and they wish to regain possession of it. . .⁴⁹

In this case it could be pondered that land purchasing and subsequent alienations, cut across old hapu/iwi fault lines or disrupted power relationships between chiefs.

Meanwhile the Crown and local government through the offices of the Native Land Court and compliant legislation kept alienating resources at speed.

The petitioners who are owners of a block of land called Te Haonga at Whangaroa state that the County Council are making a road through that land which takes away the best part of it. . .⁵⁰

48 Laws, Rev. C.H. (1944) *Methodist mission to New Zealand : toil and adversity at Whangaroa* - Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand Branch), Auckland

49 Rohe : Whangaroa – Block : Te Huia – Petitioners : Wi Warena & others – 3 July 1888 – record no. 519

50 Rohe : Whangaroa – Block : Te Hoanga – Petitioners : Kainamu Pumipi & others – 14 June 1888 –

Alienation of tangata whenua resources is an activity, which is now in its third century.

[petition] For inquiry into the alleged wrongful taking of the Puketi Block, Whangaroa District. . .⁵¹

A kaumatua who had attended both the hui at the runanga and the marae on 8th March 2005, recalled that as a boy he and his whanau used to muster their livestock and drive them to fresh pastures over land that now and had for several decades been assigned restricted access. According to him and his companion the access land, like huge tracts throughout the region were taken because the Maori owners could not afford to pay the rates⁵². With a mix of pathos, cynicism and humour they commented that those who paid rates had paid for tracks that were passed off as roads⁵³. The irony of suffering the collateral damage of having their waterways poisoned by the activities of the same local and national governments who sort redress for public services has not been lost on either the elderly or the young.

Access prohibitions and environmental pressures destroyed reasonably thriving small rural economies. A kuia, who had gathered rich documentation about those who had attended a local native school, pointed out,

. . . they have all gone. . .⁵⁴

The implication being, that not only the individuals but their whanau and by default their potential contributions to whakapapa were forced to relocate.

record no. 488

51 Rohe : Whangaroa – Block : Puketi – Petitioners : Patu Hohaia & another – 11 August 1926 – record no. 1762

52 Maori Land Court (1901) – confirmation of alienation, Okura, Taitokerau District, Whangaroa

53 Lands & Survey office, Auckland, (1916 – 1967) Kaeo road to Whangaroa – Archive NZ, Auckland

54 Te Runanga o Whaingaroa - Kaeo

Ki oku nei hoa, ka pau

To my comrades, who have
all gone

Te Tauwehe atu ki tawhiti. . .

And are now afar off. . .

Ko wai ka kitea a au?

Will I ever see them again? ⁵⁵

An enduring tale of emigration can be tracked through Native/Maori school reports as they record the continuing fall in school roles and final closures. Native school files held at Archives New Zealand, Auckland should amplify many of the complex issues that drove resource alienation and population depletion.

⁵⁵ op.cit. Ngata & Jones 1961 : 198 – 199 (excerpt)

KORERO TAWHITO/HISTORY

The preceding was a window into the history of the Whangaroa region and its native populations. The following is a more detailed excursion into the distant and recent past, through the merging of recollections and cultural perspectives. This will argue that local Maori communities have occupied the Whangaroa region for almost a millennium. How they interacted with the environment and the resources it offered was prescribed by particular conventions that had developed since the arrival of ancestral Polynesian immigrants.

What was made clear by claimants/informants at the Te Huia planning hui in May 2006 is that Tangitu holds an iconic position in the history and culture of the local communities, because as they proclaimed, the streams that flow from it envelop, unite and sustain the region metaphorically and physically. To fully comprehend the cultural significance of the spring will perhaps create an understanding of how local communities identify with and link themselves to the local region.

Tangitu is the maunga from which arises Kaingapiipiiwai, which is the birthplace of the four rivers that feed into the four harbours of Whangaroa, Pewhairangi(Bay of Islands), Hokianga and Mangonui. Where these streams flow they are puna wai(springs) which give sustenance to the people. The spiritual essence is created when the flow from the harbours converge at Te Reinga - Papa tuu ki Te Reinga - and the kohu(mists) thus created with this union of streams, drift back to Tangitu continuing the flow of life giving water. . .⁵⁶

purakau/mythology

Societies invariably impose their own cultural landscape over their natural environment by creating historical and metaphysical origins for themselves and local outstanding

56 verbatim feedback from Whangaroa Papa Hapu received 14th April 2005 and confirmed Te Huia Marae 26th May 2006

natural phenomena. The following stories could be viewed as codes or cultural mnemonics that declare combinations of values that held socio-economic, political, historical and cultural significance. The esoteric binding of communities of individuals to each other and their environments distinguishes them from others, while proclaiming to themselves and to outsiders the extent of their territories, the abundance of their resources and their ability to protect their interests.

Ko Ngati Kahu tokoiti, Ngati Kahu are few in numbers
manawanui but great in spirit ⁵⁷

The following were first told by Maori informants to Pakeha missionaries and ethnographers, who have recorded them in either publications or unpublished manuscripts, diaries and log-books.

TUPATO

it is expected that the oral histories re local mythology and history will be inserted here to confirm and support the bibliographic record.

Rauruiti

A version of the naming of Whangaroa records origins deep in the past that describe the activities of a legendary ariki-tapairu known as Rauruiti, whose husband was often involved with fighting forays to the south. On one of his long absences Rauruiti called out, “Whangaroa” or “Long Wait”. While on a pipi fishing expedition she spied her husband, Kaimohi engraved in a rock on the skyline above Waihi Bay. To her chagrin she observed that he was looking away from her and towards the north and to Te Rerenga-a-Wairua. She then realised he was dead and in her misery plotted her own demise. She climbed a nearby cliff known as Tumarangai and flung herself off. Although very little evidence remains of Rauruiti’s existence Ohakiri and Hopekako represent her knees.

⁵⁷ Graham, G (n.d.) *Pepeha* M4S Papers, Auckland Institute Museum Library

TUPATO

map, photograph or print of distinctive geographic points would enhance the story. Does anyone recall the way Whangaroa women stand when they "karanga"?????- please find out through interviews

Powhiri, which are unique to the Whangaroa people imitate her lonely vigil astride the Whangaroa Harbour.

According to some records,

. . .the "i" of Wha(i)ngaroa was suppressed by the pakeha[sic], to avoid confusion with Whaingaroa on the West Coast near Kawhia.

"Whangaroa" may mean a long estuary, or inlet, but our local story, and the name of our harbour are derived from the anguish of Rauru-iti. . .⁵⁸

Maungataniwha and Taratara

Another local legend relates the story of a taniwha from Hawaiiiki, known as Maungataniwha who preceded the migration to ensure that the country was safe and hospitable enough to protect and sustain human populations. On arrival in the country the taniwha discovered that the land was in a state of chaos as minor taniwha fought and grabbed territory for themselves. The havoc they caused included the gouging out of deep harbours such as the Hokianga, Kaipara, Mangonui and Whangaroa. Eventually all were subdued with the last one expiring with a convulsive death rattle and fit so causing the tearing up of the shore and land around Lake Omapere and creating a waterfall.

When his work was done Maungataniwha left the country and his beautiful wife, Taratara briefly, but while he was away he began to doubt her fidelity. As a consequence, he returned to Whangaroa only to find that Taratara was in the arms of a character named Hotu. In an attack of rage Maungataniwha turned on Taratara by kicking her out to sea. Her head now lies off the coast, and is represented by the island of Horo-iwi her bones

58 Williams, C.S. (n.d.) Whangaroa: *A collection of legends and tales of Whangaroa, with a description of the scenic and other attractions of a small corner of Northland, New Zealand* _ unpublished manuscript : 3

are at Umu-kukupa. Maungataniwha then set on Hotu with his taiaha. He whacked him on both sides of the head thus killing him and then kicking his battered cadaver beyond Kaikohe where he is represented as a distinctively gigantic and dissected conical mound.

TUPATO

map, photograph or print of this mound would enhance the story

As a last act of vengeance Maungataniwha took up a position on the highest mountain in the region, Mangapa so that he could observe with some relish the miserable fate of who he considered was his feckless consort and her lover.

Another version recalls that Taratara was a handsome man who had many wives. Whereas Mangataniwha who was of plainer countenance was unsuccessful in that regard. He asked or demanded that Taratara give him one of his wives. Taratara refused his request. This upset Mangataniwha who then killed Taratara and ripped him apart. Taratara's head was thrown out to sea and landed at Red Island/Motuwai. Meanwhile one of Taratara's wives, Mangamimi agonisingly watched the drama unfold and weeps to this day and her tears are represented by the puna and rivers like St Paul/Ohakiri that flow to the sea.

TUPATO

names of rivers and whanau important – this story requires some clearing up – the names of St Paul & Ohakiri are mentioned but this researcher has forgotten the context!!!! what these and other stories are conveying through metaphor and allusion may only be illuminated through carefully constructed interviews with appropriate informants.

Although it was evident to early Pakeha explorers and ethnographers that there were two communities living locally, namely Ngati Kahu and Ngapuhi, further evidence has brought to light the intriguing fact that Ngati Awa were once resident in the region. The reason why they left is told in Hokianga histories relating to Whangaroa.

In the days when Kahuunuunu (?) and his people dwelt in the Ngapuhi country, they occupied all the parts now owned by Ngapuhi, Te Rarawa, and Te-Au-pouri whilst he himself lived at Whangaroa. Before this time other tribes owned that country, and there was much evil in those days owing to the constant fighting, until Kahu-unuunu got sick of it and he and his Ngati Awa people determined to migrate to the south. So they started, passing by way of the sources of Kaipara, by Manukau and Waikato onwards. . .⁵⁹

What is obvious is that although the local people recall the Ngati Awa, the fine details of their exodus are vague.

All they know is that once upon a time the Nati Awa lived there, but when, and why they left, is a story forgotten. This means that there are gaps in the story of Whangaroa. . .⁶⁰

However, the terraced hill-top at Waitaruke called 'Toirere apparently predates Ngati Kahu and Ngapuhi arrivals and may have been built and occupied by Ngati Awa.

TUPATO

maps, photographs or prints of these sites would enhance the story. Any local stories told by informants would also be rich contributions - more foundation stories/purakau may be gathered from oral histories

A remnant of history is encapsulated in the following pepeha/whakatauki.

Ko Ngati Kahu mate a ika

Ngati Kahu killed like fish. . .⁶¹

⁵⁹ JPS (1897) Vol. 6: 44

⁶⁰ Williams, C.S. (n.d.)— unpublished manuscript

⁶¹ Department of Maori Affairs (1987) *He Pepeha, He Whakatauki no Taitokerau*. Whangarei : 44

Here, Ngati Awa are remembered for killing a group of Ngati Kahu fishermen and piling them up on the beach alongside their catch. This may refer to a Ngati Awa victory.

According to some ethnographic accounts it was the arrival of waka after the main *fleet*, that hold particular significance for the communities of the region

nga mahi o nga Tupuna

It should be signaled here that the creation of traditional histories was a democratic process where communities recorded events as each individual experienced and remembered them. How successive generations retold stories around those original events may have been a selective process. What gives credence to these histories is that historical events are often recorded by conflicting individuals and communities. However, common experiences maybe given different spins and may have been refashioned to suit the various purposes of the history-tellers and their listeners. This is not unique to the people of Tai Tokerau or Maori. As a result the following history is told within a space-time-continuum, which requires some appreciation of different ways of retelling the past.

TUPATO

the safety net for Maori historiography has to be whakapapa – therefore there is a pressing need to record local ancient origins through to today – whakapapa experts have to be found – if not there may have to be a heavy reliance on NLC records, which are sometimes limited and according to some, often flawed– we also need to flush out any whakapapa charts etc.- interviews are crucial!!!!

It appears from a variety of records that the people of Tai Tokerau and specifically the those of the Whangaroa region can claim multiple waka origins and affiliations.

In Elsdon Best's *Tuhoe*, the Tai Tokerau adventures of the waka Mataatua are recorded. The waka Takitimu is also mentioned in local histories. When Pei Te Hurinui Jones recited Koroki Mahuta's northern connections at his tangihanga, relationships between the people of the north with the people of Tainui were proclaimed and celebrated.

Ee huri too kanohi ki	Turn your face to the
Te Tai Tokerau	Northern Tides
oo Tupuna o roto i ngaa	To your ancestors from
toronga maha	many lines. . . ⁶²

Some of the earliest traditions record that it was the explorer, Kupe on the waka Matawhaorua who made first landfall and is reported as returning to his homeland from the Hokianga. Other traditions claim that it was his son Nukutawhiti who sailed back to Aotearoa on a refashioned, renamed and relaunched, Ngatoki-matawhaorua. Pakeha historians have calculated that this was around about 950 AD. It should be remembered that this date is not a Maori accounting. They attach arrivals to significant whakapapa rather than arbitrary dates and times.

One tradition claims that Nukutawhiti arrived on Ngatoki-matawhaorua several generations after the *fleet*.

TUPATO

according to informants at Te Huia Marae hui, 7th July 2006 there were two Nukutawhiti's – this will have to be sorted out. . .

Another early explorer was known as Tiwakawaka. Whether this is a national, regional or specifically Ngati Kahu tradition is not clear.

Within a generation, although some claim several generations later, the country began receiving new immigrants. These were known as the Tini-o-Toi or Kairakau. According to later ethnographic records new migrants began arriving on what is now known as the

⁶² Jones, Pei Te Hurinui on the occasion of Koroki Mahuta's Tangihanga, Ngaruawahia May 1966

fleet. In most Pakeha records of Maori traditions the Mataatua was one of the waka of that *fleet*. But some local records claim that it arrived earlier and was almost contemporaneous with the later arrivals of the Mamari, Riukakara and Mahuhu.

TUPATO

what is the true story and why does it matter???- could this issue be illuminated through structured interviews???

The Mamari landed in the Hokianga. Its crew took possession of the west coast from Monganui Bluff to Ahipara, while those who disembarked from the Riukakara at Doubtless Bay, spread out and occupied the territory between Monganui and the Bay of Islands. Ngati Whatua who descended from the Mahuhu crew, eventually settled on and around the Kaipara.

According to Mataatua traditions, a leader called Toroa lead an exploratory expedition. Apparently he was first on board the Kurahaupo but because of some dispute or disaster he along with four others, boarded the Mataatua. His companions were, Tukupua, Akuramatapu, Turu and Te Moungaroa who later parted company with him and ended up in Whangaroa.

TUPATO

it is becoming obvious that the traditional stories are contradicting themselves in timeframes and sequence – does it matter???
if so we need to get a more solid handle on pre-contact history through oral histories and manuscripts/archives

Tradition has it that the Mataatua is buried in Tai Tokerau, and according to some this is a source of deep annoyance to the descendents of those crew members including Toroa who settled further south.

Although Toroa was the leader of his band it is his younger brother Puhi-taniwharau, or Puhi-moana-ariki who is significant in Whangaroa history. Apparently there was a

dispute between the brothers, which resulted in Puhi and his son/mokopuna Rahiri commandeering the Mataatua and sailing to Great Barrier Island.

As time moved on the brothers made peace and as a celebration of that auspicious event Puhi and his people put on a hakari for his tuakana at Whangaroa. In preparation for what was to be a memorable feast, huge gardens were dug up and planted on the table-land approaching Matauri Bay. This place was called *O-o-Toroa* in honour of such an important guest and has since become known as Otoroa.

A version of early settlement by crew members of the Mataatua and their descendents compiled by Lucy Te Awa and Rueben Taniora⁶³ tells of Toroa's captaincy and his relationship with his younger brother Puhi.

Three waka travelled in convoy from Hawaiki, these being Mataatua, Takitimu and Kurahaupo. Takitimu carried aboard tohunga who were familiar with land and soil rituals concerned with arrival on new territory. Kuarahaupo carried aboard koiwi (bones of ancestors). Mataatua carried aboard chiefs, warriors and families. . .⁶⁴

In this story a dispute arose out of competition between the brothers to establish who was the best gardener. As it turned out Puhi was successful while Toroa suffered a crop failure, which he blamed on his younger brother. Apparently this infuriated Puhi and he resolved to travel north with his followers. On setting out, he exclaimed,

. . .the land is heavy while the people are light. . .⁶⁵

As he and his followers sailed north they named many places,

63 Te Awa, L & Taniora, R. (1987) *Draft Report on WAI 58*, filed by Te Runanga o Whangaroa on behalf of Nga Iwi me nga Hapu o Whangaroa

64 Brougham, C (1993) *Report on Whangaroa for the Waitangi Tribunal* : 24

65 *ibid.* : 26

. . .as they passed, some being Whanakai (the brave kick), Whangaruru (harbour shelter) and Tiheru (canoe bailer). . .⁶⁶

These places are located on the coast between Whangarei and the Bay of Islands. The journey also included the traversing of mountainous terrain, swamps and rivers. On reaching the Bay of Islands and traveling inland to the Waihou Valley the crew dragged the waka to the top of a local hill. Here they rested and then went about looking for skids to assist in moving the waka across land. This location became known as Puketiti (puke-hill, titi-skids), which has since been shortened to Puketi and became renowned for its extensive Kauri forests. Although the visit was brief it was historically significant because it was here that one of Mataatua's anchors called Whaingaroa was dropped into the harbour. Puhi moved on and later settled at Takou Bay, which is considered the place where Ngapuhi were created and later became one of the most powerful iwi in the country.

Another waka, the Mahuhu, which was captained by an individual named Rongamai landed at Whangaroa and then journeyed up to Te Rerenga o Wairua and then journeyed south to the Kaipara.

A number of years later, descendants of Rongomai returned to Rangaunu in the Mahuhu. Mahuhu was hauled up a creek to a spot where the waka was left to decay, the spot is known as Te wai popo o Mahuhu. . .⁶⁷

According to John White,

Te Riu Karaka was the ancestral canoe of the Whangaroa people . . .descendants from Te Riu Karaka also spread out to Mangonui, north of Whangaroa and the Bay of Islands in the south. . .⁶⁸

66 *ibid.*

67 *ibid.* : 31

68 Sale, E.V. (1987) *Whangaroa: Historical Canoes of the Migrations* : 29

Although this waka sailed into the Whangaroa Harbour and deposited some of its crew, most of their descendents have since been either exterminated or absorbed into Te Rarawa. Some versions of this story state that the name of the waka was Te Riu o Kakara.

Another waka,

. . .which came from the other side was Tamarerti. All the canoes are from here. They were built by the men of Whagaroa on the further side of Tokerau. . .⁶⁹

According to Te Awa and Taniora a manuscript of Ngapuhi origin claims that the famous waka Te Arawa, Takitimu, Kurahaupo, Nainaimoko(?) Hourota(?) and Tainui originated from this region.

They were built by the men of Whangaora on the further side of Tokerau beach. Some belong to Takao, above Te Puna. All the canoes of Rahiri and others belong to there. Some of the canoes belonged to Waipapa, in the fresh water of Kerikeri. Some came from Rangiwawa River below Whangaroa. Many were the villages where the canoes were built. I heard from my elders that all the canoes were built there. . .⁷⁰

TUPATO

Not sure about the reference for this and I have never heard of Te Waka Nainaimoko – does this come from a local tradition or is it generally known by everyone in the country except me!!!!???

69 Easdale, N. (1991) *Maori and Missionary* : 16

70 *ibid.*

According to histories and whakapapa from the south-east there were further infusions of Ngati Awa whakapapa into the local population. However, this is not widely known or acknowledged in Tai Tokerau.

It is about here that local histories start to loose contact with sequential events as Nukutawhiti re-enters the histories of the North as the distant descendant rather than the son of Kupe.

According to some accounts he arrived many generations after the people of the Mamari waka had established themselves in and around the Whangaroa Harbour. To proclaim his mana over the local population he is reputed to have set his own taniwha as guards at the mouth of the Hokianga harbour and gave extravagant hakari there and at Whangaroa. To commemorate Nukutawhiti's sojourn are two pillar-like rocks near Pungaere.

This activity seems to replicate what his ancestor, Kupe had performed, which has since been commemorated at Tarata-roto-rua.

TUPATO

period between establishment and contact will have come from further historical investigation –there may need to be a focus on Ngati Kahu history and Ngapuhi history as separate and coalescing at different times.

whakapapa will have to be brought in through oral history interviews and NLC investigations – also where are local moteatea???????

While awaiting evidence from oral history gathering it is worth advancing the documented history to the time of Te Pahi, Hongi Hika, Rauatara, Te Puhi, Ururoa, Tupe and others. This time is just prior to and at the first contact between local communities and foreigners.

contact

The following history has been gathered from a variety secondary and primary resources. At this stage the core document is an unpublished manuscript by Tim Healy who edited the records of the Maddox family who were resident in the Whangaroa during or about

the time when Maori and Pakeha were beginning to interact with each other in a substantive way.

So far technical research has not clarified if Ngati Kahu and Ngapuhi were both resident in the Whangaroa Harbour at the time of first contact. What is known is that Ngati Kahu had been resident for many generations and the ahi-kaa of the Ngati Awa had more or less been extinguished. Although Ngapuhi may not have migrated into the region in great numbers it would be reasonably safe to assume that many local communities had whakapapa links to Ngapuhi and other northern iwi/hapu.

What is confusing about the contact period and the following century is the political and military rise of Ngapuhi. This has fuelled a Pakeha mania for identifying socio-economic, political and genealogically linked communities into imagined corporate groups that were then given the generalised nomenclatures of Ngapuhi in the north, Ngati Porou in the east and Ngai Tahu in the south.

As a consequence true identification of some historical characters and communities have been made more difficult because many Pakeha ethnographers have extrapolated the name of Ngapuhi to include most of the northern iwi including those of the Whangaroa Harbour and surrounding districts.

Considering that is the case, the following hapu have been identified within a documented history that is flawed by mistakes, machinations and omissions.

According to existing historical records there were three hapu in the district, Ngati Uru, Ngati Po and Ngati Hao. It is not clear whether they had Ngati Kahu or Ngapuhi affiliations.

However Ngati Hao were resident in the Hokianga. Patuone the renowned Ngapuhi leader was the hapu's ariki.

Ngati Uru lived along the Kaeo River. During the 1820's their influence grew as they allied themselves to Hongi Hika. The ariki of the hapu was Pipikaitaruke whose name was sometimes shortened to Pipi. He had three sons, Te Puhi, Te Ara and Ahuruhuru.

Ngati Po lived on the mouth of the Whangaroa Harbour at a place called Okahu Moko. Their leader was Kaitoki who was described as,

. . . a great chief who was equally feared and loved by his people. He was highly intelligent and had a most peaceful disposition, together with great courage and bodily strength. . .⁷¹

The following biographies track the lives, activities and interactions of some individuals with Pakeha explorers, traders, adventurers, missionaries and settlers.

Tuki & Uri

The first recorded post-contact Maori to travel to another country were Tuki and Uri. They are reputed to have come from Oruru, Doubtless Bay, and Te Rawhiti, in the Bay of Islands.

They were black-birded to Norfolk Island in 1793. This coincided with British ambitions to set up a flax growing and weaving industry at the same time as they established one of the most notorious penal colonies in recorded history.

The venture failed because the leader of the kidnappers had chosen two young men who had little knowledge of harakeke preparation. What little they knew they passed on and as a result a flax industry limped into existence.

The Governor of Norfolk Island at that time was a man named King, who was later to become Governor of Australia and receive and host Te Paahi and his sons. After about six months he saw that both youths were homesick and escorted them back to their own

71 Healy, Tim. Whangaroa County History 1769-1822, *The Story of Fred and Eva Maddox* 1972 :2 - 7

country and their families. He was later reprimanded for leaving his post without the permission of the Governor of Australia.

Tuki and Uri disembarked with many gifts including livestock, potatoes, axes etc. This and subsequent cordial intercourse with Maori created an environment of trust and commerce, which has never been repeated in the subsequent inter-racial history of this country.

Te Paahi

One of the earliest post-contact Maori voyagers was Te Pahi of Whangaroa. His name and influence is celebrated in whakapapa, korero tawhito and ethnographic records of this region. History and tradition recall that his death was partly due to his connection with an incident which has since earned the title of the “Boyd massacre”. He gained a reputation among Pakeha as being cordial and hospitable.

Because of positive exchanges between himself and visiting whalers Governor King, who was formerly governor of Norfolk sent him gifts of appreciation including livestock from Australia. After evincing a desire to visit the Governor, he was booked a passage along with five of his sons on board the *Venus*, which was under the command of a Captain Stewart, in or around about September 1805. They were feted by the Governor until their departure on February 25th 1806. on board the *Lady Nelson* and taking with him many gifts of fruit trees and livestock. The commander of the *Lady Nelson* described Te Pahi as a chief of considerable importance.

The reputation Te Pahi possessed at the time could have been fuelled by a Pakeha public relations exercise that identified and promoted potential allies for the express purpose of reaching into indigenous communities and thus expanding the influence of a powerful and consuming empire. Later in this report it is recorded how this type of selection, separation and amplification of particular individuals would be repeated throughout the inter-racial history of this country. This was particularly obvious in Native Land Court proceedings and activities between the mid 1860's and early 20th century.

Governor King wrote in March 1806, to Lord Camden, a Government official posted in Samoa, giving a glowing account of Te Pahi and his retinue.

This worthy and respectable chief (for so we found him in every sense of the word after residing us for 3 months) [sic.] informed me that he had long intended this visit, being encouraged by the report of Tuki and Uri. He had undertaken it also at the request of his father and the prospect of this country being benefited by his visit, as it had been by the great blessing on it by the two New Zealanders returned from Norfolk Island, who introduced the potato which is now in great abundance. . .⁷²

The following is description given of Te Pahi by someone in Sydney.

He appeared to be about fifty-five years of age, five feet eleven and a half inches tall, and of athletic form. His countenance was expressive and commanding, though much disfigured by being completely tattooed, he was found to be a man of superior understanding, he was very inquisitive and examined with great attention the various manufactures that were carried on by the settlers. . .⁷³

On his return journey Te Pahi fell ill, A young ex-convict and crew member, George Bruce, was detailed to look after him. On recovering Te Pahi requested that the young man be freed of his obligations and stay with him. Neither the young man or the commander objected.

Bruce lived at Te Puna and Rawhiti under Te Pahi's protection and later married his daughter. He became a fluent Maori speaker and gained a reputation for assisting visiting

⁷² Healy, Tim. Whangaroa County History 1769-1822, *The Story of Fred and Eva Maddox* 1972 :.5

⁷³ *ibid.*

ships and their crews. This was probably one of the first formal arrangements between a Pakeha man and a Maori woman

While Te Pahi's daughter and her husband were on a fishing expedition to Whangaroa in 1808, they were abducted by Captain Dalrymple of the vessel, *General Wellesley* and taken to Malacca where the couple became separated. They were finally reunited in Penang, found their way to Bengal. Nothing was heard of them until they eventually returned to Sydney on the *Union* and were waiting for passage back when Te Pahi's daughter died on March 2nd 1810. This is known because her death notice was placed in the March 10th 1810, Sydney Gazette. The notice also noted she had left a "fine infant", which the father intended to return to Whangaroa on the *Experiment*.

After Bruce and his wife were abducted Te Pahi made another journey to Australia in search of information regarding their loss. In May or June 1808 he sailed aboard a sealing

TUPATO

is there evidence in the oral histories of the child flourishing in the Whangaroa region – are there descendents of this union recorded in local whakapapa??? Oral histories please!!!

vessel called the *Commerce* under Captain Ceronci. He never learnt the fate of his daughter, son-in-law or mokopuna.

Te Pahi denied taking any part in the burning and sacking of the *Boyd*. If the accusations leveled at him were wrong then suspicion would then fall on Te Puhi, son of Pipikaitaruke and brother of Te Ara/George, who was reputed to have been one of the main protagonists.

TUPATO

proto-narrative ceases here the rest are notes

Kaitoke

A chief of the Whangaroa region who died in an epidemic of influenza or measles This was attributed to the evil spirit left amongst them when Ceronci's watch went overboard.

Te Puhi & Te Ara

Te Puhi and Te Ara were the sons of Pipikaitaruke, chief of Ngati Uru. Te Ara asked Captain Wilkinson of the *Star* to take him on as a crew member to Australia which he agreed to. During this voyage Te Ara gained the nickname of George. He seems to have been well treated by Captain Wilkinson, but later he joined up with another less accommodating captain who treated him harshly and after many months of hard work, cheated him out of his wages. He was left destitute in Sydney where he met up again with Captain Wilkinson, who arranged a passage for him on the *Boyd* back to New Zealand.

Pakeha explorers and the Whangaroa harbour

- 1769 Captain Cook; in his first voyage of discovery
- 1772 Marion du Fresne; French Navigator
- 1805 Captain Stewart of the vessel *Venus*
- 1805 Captain Dalrymple, of the vessel *General Wellesley*
- 1805 Captain Wilkinson; of the vessel *Star*
- 1808 Captain Dalrymple; of the vessel *General Wellesley*
- 1808 Captain Ceronci; of the sealing vessel *Commerce*
- 1809 Captain John Thompson; of the *Boyd*
- 1809 Alexander Berry; of the *City of Edinburgh*
- 1809 Whaling Vessel; *Revenge* for the *Boyd*

1814 Captain Dillon; of Marsden's Missionary vessel *Active*

1820 Major Richard A. Cruise; of the *Dromedary*

James Cook 1769

The Whangaroa tribes were involved with the advent of the European right from the very beginning, having had contact with Captain Cook in his first voyage of discovery. The Cavalli Islands lying off the Whangaroa coast were named by him. His journal gives the following accounts.

Monday 27 November 1769 – At 8am we were within a mile of a group of islands lying close under the mainland, and NW by $\frac{1}{2}$ W, distance 22mls from Cape Brett. Here we lay for nearly two hours having little or no wind. During this time several canoes came off to the ship and two or three of them sold us some fish. . . After this, some others began to pelt us with stones and would not desist at the firing of two musquet balls thro' one of their boats. At last I was obliged to pepper two or three fellows with small shott after which they retired .

⁷⁴

Friday 8th – Forepart of P.M.- had a gentle breeze at N. N. W. with which we stood in shore and fetched close under the Cavalle Islands. They are a group of Islands lying close under the main island and 7 leagues N 60 W from Cape Brett, and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Point Rodney. From these islands the mainland trends W by N. We were visited by several canoes, and the people in them seemed desirous of trafficking with us, but at this time a breeze of wind sprang up at S. They could not keep up with us and I would not wait for them. . .⁷⁵

The preceding show that Cook received mixed receptions on entering the Whangaroa Harbour.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

Marion du Fresne , French Navigator 1772

On June 12th 1772 the French explorer Marion du Fresne and a number of his crew were killed in the Bay of Islands.

He was first shown a cordial welcome, but for some reason or other the mood turned ugly. It has been conjectured that du Fresne unintentionally violated tapu, which demanded a measure of utu.

Later the Whangaroa people were blamed for the killing, however this is difficult to prove as the story was recounted by the Ngapuhi of the Bay of Islands, two decades later. This was about the time of the *Boyd* when it was politically and economically advantageous to load as much culpability as possible on the Whangaroa communities.

TUPATO

I have misplaced a reference to Hongi saying he was going to deal to the "bad natives" at Whangaroa – this may have been a trumped up charge to rationalize & authorize an invasion!!!!!!

Dillon, a sea captain who frequented the shores of New Zealand in the early days, interviewed a woman who said she remembered the killing of du Fresne and his men.

There was a European female on board of Marion's ship. Her name was Micky, she had been on shore washing some linen at Paora, and a party of the Whangaroa Tribe being there fishing, stole some of it. A scuffle ensued also between the seamen, and some of the natives about the fish, Micky was alarmed and made the best of her way off to the ship in one the of the boats. In the meantime Marion landed and was killed. The account of what had happened shortly reached the ships, and 200 men went on shore armed with muskets, but the natives, confident in their numbers and unacquainted with the deadly effect of firearms, faced them boldly. The spear stood no chance against the musket ball and the Whangaroa people fell in dozens, they could not conceive how it happened, not being able to discover the instruments by which they were wounded.

At length they fled to the mainland and sought safety in a fortified place, supposing they had been engaged with the spirits who blew fire and smoke at them out of their mouths through the muskets. They were pursued by the Frenchmen to the mainland where vast numbers were killed. The person who murdered Captain Marion was named Kuri. He was a native of Whangaroa.

Captain Wilkinson; of the vessel Star, 1805

The Bay of Islands was frequented by seamen soon after its discovery by Captain Cook in 1769, but was not until 1805 that the Whangaroa Harbour was discovered. The lateness of this discovery was due no doubt to the topography of the entrance. The heads are very narrow and a backdrop of rock-face makes the precipitous coastline at this point appear to be continuous.

According to Bretts, the European credited with the discovery was Captain Wilkinson of the vessel 'Star' engaged in sealing operations around the islands to the South of New Zealand. Leaving his sealing gangs on the islands, as was the practice in those days, Wilkinson ran up the Western coast of New Zealand, rounded the North Cape, and sought a harbour between the Cape and the Bay of Islands, where he could obtain food and water.

While coasting along he discovered an open bay sheltered by a small island (Tauranga Bay – Stephenson's Island) where he anchored for the night. The coast of the mainland was generally high and precipitous and from where it appeared as a continuous line that seemed to have emerged from a solid rock face.

He immediately launched a small boat and set out to investigate. He found what he described as a narrow entrance which extended to the right and to the left, into two capacious basins, and with a high middle head just inside the entrance which screens the harbour. It was described by another visitor as being one of the finest harbours in the world, and one the largest fleet might ride in.

Captain Wilkinson, having obtained such supplies as the natives could provide, returned to the Southern islands to relieve his crews without taking his vessel into Whangaroa. He later returned and the *Star* became the first vessel to anchor in the harbour, and this gave Wilkinson a chance to explore the district. . .⁷⁶

Captain Ceronci of the Sealing Vessel; Commerce

In May or June 1808 Te Pahi travelled to Port Jackson in search of information regarding the loss of his daughter and son-in-law. He travelled aboard a sealing vessel called the 'Commerce' under Captain Ceronci.

The vessel had called at the Bay of Islands for stores after catching a full cargo of seals further South, and was bound for Port Jackson. Acting on the advice of Te Pahi, Ceronci took the vessel around to Whangaroa where foodstuffs were more abundant than at the Bay. That area had been cleaned out by the great numbers of Whalers, which had recently visited it. The result of the visit to Whangaroa was most satisfactory for Captain Ceronci, as he obtained all the food he needed.

While he was there a strange and rather unfortunate piece of history occurred. The incident was recorded by Alexander Berry, - supercargo of the 'City of Edinburgh' – when he visited the Bay of Islands in 1809. The same Alexander Berry was also responsible for saving the survivors of the *Boyd*.

Captain Ceronci apparently had a watch, which so impressed the locals that they called it 'Atua' or God. Having a sense of showmanship, Ceronci displayed his watch before the them as often as he could. One day he unfortunately dropped it into the sea to the consternation and terror of the natives.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

Later, the 'Commerce' left quietly in the night without the usual farewells being given. This intensified superstitious fear. And many prophecies of disaster were proclaimed.

Disaster did come in the form of an epidemic, (this could have been influenza or measles which had been introduced and against which Maori had no built in resistance). Many died, including a great Chief named Kytokē. The epidemic was attributed to the evil spirit left amongst them when Ceronci's watch went overboard, and the survivors of the epidemic vowed vengeance.

This occurred in 1808, one year before the *Boyd* incident, so it may well have been more fuel for the fire, which intensified their desire for utu grew.

Captain John Thompson; the Boyd, 1809

The *Boyd* was an English vessel of about 500 tons, commanded by Captain John Thompson and owned by a George Brown of London. She was chartered by the Government to transport convicts to New South Wales. She left the Thames (England) on March 10th 1809 and arrived at Port Jackson on August 11th. She left Sydney on her return voyage with a complement of about 70 people on board, crew and passengers. She was partly chartered by a Mr S Lord of Port Jackson, to proceed to Whangaroa for spars that were to be discharged at the Cape of Good Hope. Mr Lord also put on board a large quantity of N.S.W mahogany, seal skins, oil and coal for the same market.

According to Dillon, there was a passenger on board, an East Indian Captain, a man named Burnside, who by trade, crime or both had accumulated a large fortune of some £30,000 and was about to retire in Dublin. From this, arose the legend that the *Boyd* was carrying a fortune. Although not proven later visitors to the region commented that they had seen children wearing silver coins around their necks.

There are a number of stories surrounding Te Ara/George's shipboard experiences although it is generally conceded that he was treated badly. He was not a well man on the

voyage and the ship's master insisted on him doing menial tasks, and because of his refusal to work, he was severely flogged.

This act demanded utu and so the fate of the ship, its crew and its master were sealed.

On making landfall, Te Ara/George offered to show the captain an abundant source of good sources of spars. He found them good anchorage somewhere along the leeward side of Peach Island.

TUPATO

where is this place – has it got a Maori name – what is it known as now – is there any oral history concerning the incident &/or place???

Reunited with this family, George told them of the troubles he had had on the voyage and with the memory of the epidemic fresh in their minds they decided upon utu which was to be the lives of many of those on board. The main character in the massacre would of course have been Te Ara/George's father Pipi, assisted by his elder brother Te Puhi.

The captain was informed that if he took a party ashore they would be shown where the best spars were. Whilst on shore the party was lured deep into the bush and set upon and clubbed to death.

Donning the clothes of the sailors, the Maoris returned to the boat near dusk and in the failing light they were mistaken for the shore party. They got on board without difficulty and took the rest of the crew and passengers by surprise, and with the exception of four people, they suffered the fate of the shore party. According to tradition the bodies were taken up the Kaeo river to a place in the vicinity of where Kaeo township now stands, and there they were cooked and eaten.

The survivors of the massacre were a Mrs Morley and her daughter, a girl named Betsy Broughton, and a boy by the name of Thomas Davis, Why these were spared would be

anybody's guess, and many theories have been put forward. It could have been that this handful of people had shown kindness towards George on the voyage.

Another story related to why the *Boyd* was attacked came to light during a hui at Te Huia Marae in Kaeo on the 7th July 2006. It tells the story of two young women were abducted onto a ship and then thrown overboard into a fishing ground. For the murder of the young women and the pollution of the fishing grounds utu had to be paid.

The ship was plundered and they made a beeline for the muskets and gunpowder. According to reports, Pipi brought up on deck a keg of gunpowder, which he opened to see if it was in good condition. While firing one of the muskets over the keg, a spark from fell into the gunpowder causing a huge explosion. Pipi and a number of his people lost their lives and the superstructure of the boat caught fire. The survivors cut the moorings of the boat and towed it into the shallow waters of the upper reaches of the harbour by Red Island.

There it lay for many years with the hulk visible at low water. Attempts were made to raise the remains in 1970 but these proved too costly and the project was abandoned.

Alexander Berry; of the City of Edinburgh 1809

At about the same time as the Boyd incident the 'City of Edinburgh' lying on the beach at Korarareka, in the process of being completely re-sheathed with kauri planking.

When the news of the Boyd filtered through to the Bay of Islands, one of the ship's officer's, Alexander Berry, took an armed party to Whangaroa. After some negotiations and a show of arms he succeeded in obtaining the release of the four survivors. He then returned them to the Bay of Islands.

Whaling Vessel; Revenge for the Boyd, 1809

A captain of a whaling vessel who heard about the fate of Boyd, decided to exact revenge. He put to sea and sought the help of a number of other whalers in the vicinity, and they planned an attack on Te Pahi's Pa at Te Puna. They surrounded the Pa with a well armed party and everyone in sight and a great number were killed. Te Pahi managed to escape to the mainland but was wounded. The whalers then burned all the whares, crops, and waka in the Pa, and surrounding area.

Te Pahi died soon after from a spare wound in his side, which he received in battle with some Whangaroa iwi/hapu. This battle was reported to have been caused because of his sympathy for the victims of the 'Boyd'.

The Dromedary, 1820

The notoriety that Whangaroa gained because of the Boyd incident was responsible for the district not being colonised as early as the Bay of Islands. Fear kept seamen away from the harbour for many years.

The next visiting vessel, the Dromedary visited in 1820. The visit was well documented by Major Richard A. Cruise in a journal he kept during his ten-month stay in New Zealand. This Journal was published under the title of *New Zealand 100 Years Ago*.

Although Dromedary may not been first boat to export Kauri spars but it was, along with the Coromandel the first to be commissioned by the British Admiralty for that express purpose. Bullock teams were commissioned to drag the logs out of the forest.

A.H. Reed decribes *The Story of the Kauri* a similar event.

These handymen of King George the Fourth's Navy, these pioneer bushman, roadmakers, and bullock drivers, surely merit a distinguished place in the annals of the Kauri bushman. With the loading of the

Dromedary, the invasion of the northern forests may be said to have begun in earnest. . .⁷⁷

It is worth noting that the bullock team used by the crew of the Dromedary was the first to be imported into the country to pull logs and plough fields. Reverend John Butler reports in his diary,

On the morning of Wednesday 3rd May 1820, the agricultural plough was for the first time put into the land at Kiddi Kiddi (Kerikeri) and I felt much pleasure in holding it. . .⁷⁸

Major Cruise was the Commanding Officer of a military detachment on board the Dromedary. In the preface to the book written in 1821 he attested to the accuracy of his account. He wrote,

During his residence in New Zealand the author being entrusted with the military detachment on board the Dromedary, a charge quite unconnected with the operation or movement of the ship was, was lead from motives of curiosity to maintain a constant intercourse with the inhabitants and to devote much of his leisure to the society. . .⁷⁹

The Dromedary's first port of call in New Zealand was Korarareka/Russell. This was the most frequented port at that time,

Being unsuccessful in obtaining trees suitable for spars in the Bay of Islands, it was decided to go to the Hokianga as it had been reported that there was an abundance of Kauri trees in the locality. The Dromedary set sail on March 25th but on approaching the North Cape ran into bad weather and was forced to turn back. Cruise describes the event and how they put into Whangaroa.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*:16

⁷⁸ *ibid.*:16

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

At night it blew so heavy a gale that the ship was brought to. On the following day the same conditions prevailed; the ship was labouring very much. . . The gale moderated during the night and in the morning we made North Cape and Cape Maria Van Diemen. . .

and continues...

On March 28th it was found that a current had carried us twenty-six miles to the leeward of Cape Maria Van Diemen; hence it was impossible to beat against it with a contrary wind, and as the bullocks on board were without grass, it was determined to put back to Whangaroa where we could get food for them and shelter for the ship.

..

On his meeting with Tepere (?), the "Chief of the Whangaroa tribe", Cruise states...

As soon as the Dromedary had anchored outside Whangaroa a boat was sent off to procure food for the cattle, and to sound the harbour; but she did not enter until it was dusk, and the natives came down to the beach in such numbers that it was not thought prudent to land amongst them at so late an hour. Their chief, however, was civil and promised to come to the ship the next morning; and the officer who had charge of the boat reported the entrance of the harbour to be narrow but very deep. On March 29th, Tepere, the Chief of the Whangaroa came off, according to promise; but there was something so sulky or timid in his conduct that he was of no use to us. He was asked to send off grass and potatoes for which ample payment was promised; and to accompany some of the officers in a boat, which was going into the harbour, and afterwards up a river which flows into it; and to point out to them where the timber which he said grew in this district, was to be found. All this he promised to do, but when we were going to pull off he said he would follow in his canoe; in stead of